

Message Text

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15

ACTION IO-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4076

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR UN OAU US

SUBJ: UNITED NATIONS: THE OAU IN PERSPECTIVE

1. USUN FORBEARS TO OFFER ANY VIEW AS TO WHETHER COLONEL QADHAFI'S RECENT CONGRATULATIONS TO THOSE NATIONS WHICH VOTED FOR THE ZIONSIM-RACISM RESOLUTION, WITH HIS ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES, REQUIRES A RESPONSE. BUT THIS DOES PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON THE GENERAL SUBJECT OF AFRICA'S RELATION TO THIS QUESTION.

2. WE SENSE THAT MANY PERSONS ARE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT AFRICA IS A CONTINENT MADE UP OF MANY SMALL BLACK COUNTRIES WHOSE PRESIDENTS WRITE FRENCH POETRY OR ENGLISH ESSAYS. THERE ARE SOME OF THESE, NO DOUBT. BUT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AFRICA IS BEHAVING INCREASINGLY AS A TERRA ISLAMICA, WITH A REGIONAL ORGANIZATION--THE OAU--WHICH IS FREQUENTLY, BUT NOT ALWAYS, USED TO ADVANCE ISLAMIC POLICIES.

3. YOUR AMBASSADOR HERE GAINED SOME NOTORIETY BY COMMENTING TO THE AFL-CIO THAT IT WAS "NO ACCIDENT" THAT FIELD MARSHAL AMIN--WHO HAD COME TO THE UNITED STATES TO DENOUNCE AMERICAN BLACKS, AMERICAN JEWS, AMERICANS IN GENERAL, AND TO CALL FOR THE "EXTINCTION" OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL--WAS PRESIDENT OF
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THE OAU. I INTENDED NO MORE THAN I SAID, WHICH IS THAT

ANTI-ISRAELI AND ANTI-AMERICAN POSITIONS ARE MORE OR LESS AUTOMATIC IN THAT ORGANIZATION AT THIS TIME. THREE DAYS LATER, IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE AMBASSADOR OF DAHOMEY, MR. ADJIBADE, SPEAKING IN THE NAME OF THE OAU MEMBERSHIP, REPLIED TO MY REMARKS. IN AN EXTENDED SPEECH, HE SAID, INTER ALIA, THAT THE NEW YORK TIMES' CHARACTERIZATION OF AMIN WAS "UNDERSTANDABLE, IN VIEW OF THE IMPACT OF ZIONISM ON THE AMERICAN MASS MEDIA, PARTICULARLY IN NEW YORK...BUT FOR A STATESMAN OF THE STATURE OF MOYNIHAN TO ENDORSE SUCH TENDENTIOUS INSINUATIONS CONFIRMS WHAT WAS SAID BY PRESIDENT AMIN ON THE TOTAL GRIP OF INTERNATIONAL ZIONISM OVER THE UNITED STATES." I REPEAT THAT THIS WAS THE OFFICIAL REPLY MADE ON BEHALF OF THE OAU. SHORTLY THEREAFTER, THE OAU, IN EFFECT, CHOSE AFRICA'S TWO NEW MEMBERS ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL: LIBYA AND DAHOMEY--ONE A MUSLIM COUNTRY, BOTH COMMITTED TO THE "EXTINCTION" OF ISRAEL, BOTH MOST UNFRIENDLY TO THE UNITED STATES.

4. WE SEE NOTHING PREDESTINED IN THESE ATTITUDES. THERE IS NO REASON IN THE WORK WHY WE SHOULD NOT ONE DAY BE ON THE BEST OF TERMS WITH ISLAMIC NATIONS, BUT IT IS A FACT THAT FOR THIS MOMENT, WITH MOST OF THEM, WE ARE NOT. ALSO AT THIS MOMENT, ISLAM IS EVIDENTLY GOING THROUGH ANOTHER VIBRANT AND SUCCESSFUL "MISSIONARY" PHASE, WINNING MORE AND MORE CONVERTS IN THE SUBSAHARAN REGION OF AFRICA--INCLUDING CHIEFS OF STATE--AMONG THEIR SWELLING NUMBERS.

5. AT THIS POINT, IT IS PERHAPS USEFUL TO NOTE THAT THE OAU COUNTRIES DO NOT ALWAYS MAINTAIN SOLID RANKS. IN PARTICULAR, THEY BROKE ON THE ISSUE OF THE RESOLUTION DECLARING ZIONISM TO BE A FORM OF RACISM. ON THE KEY VOTE TO POSTPONE CONSIDERATION OF THE ISSUE, THERE WERE THIRTEEN SUB-SAHARAN VOTES WITH THE WEST, WHILE SIX OTHERS ABSTAINED OR ABSENTED THEMSELVES IN WHAT MUST BE JUDGED A FRIENDLY MANNER. TWENTY-ONE NATIONS VOTED AGAINST US. BUT NINE OF THESE TWENTY-ONE ARE, FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES, MUSLIM NATIONS. BY CONTRAST, ONLY ONE OF THE NATIONS VOTING WITH US IS MUSLIM. IF IT MAY BE ALLOWED THAT A MUSLIM NATION WOULD ALMOST AUTOMATICALLY LINE UP WITH THE REST OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD ON THIS ISSUE, THEN THE MOST SIGNIFICANT

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VOTE WOULD BE THAT OF THE NON-MUSLIM SUB-SAHARAN AFRICANS. HERE THE MUSLIM POSITION WAS SUPPORTED BY ONLY TWELVE OF A TOTAL OF THIRTY COUNTRIES. IN TRUTH, WE HAD MORE AFRICAN SUPPORT ON THE ZIONISM VOTE THAN ON ANY VOTE IN AGES. MUCH MORE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAN WE ARE ABLE TO GET ON KOREA, WHICH IS A STRAIGHT-OUT AFFAIR ON THE NON-ALIGNED VOTING WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

6. THE RELATIVELY GOOD SHOWING ON ZIONISM SHOULD ENCOURAGE

US TO HOPE FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE AFRICAN BLOC, AND OF COURSE WE VERY MUCH DESIRE THIS. BUT WE SHOULD NOT FAIL TO KEEP IN MIND THAT FOR THE MOMENT, AFRICA IS A CONTINENT VERY MUCH UNDER ISLAMIC INFLUENCE. ALTHOUGH ONLY SIXTEEN OF THE FORTY-SIX OAU COUNTRIES ARE PREDOMINANTLY MUSLIM COUNTRIES, THESE COUNTRIES HAVE AN OVERWHELMING PREDOMINANCE OF THE POPULATION AND DISPOSABLE WEALTH OF THE CONTINENT, LEAVING ASIDE ONLY SOUTH AFRICA. THEY ALSO HAVE THE ORGANIZATIONAL ABILITY, RHETORICAL RESOURCES, AND STAMINA AT THE UN WHICH HAS LEFT THE REMAINDER OF THE OAU FOLLOWING OBEDIENTLY BEHIND. NIGERIA AND EGYPT ARE AFRICA IN TERMS OF POPULATION. SUDAN IS AFRICA IN TERMS OF SIZE. NIGERIA, LIBYA AND ALGERIA ARE AFRICA IN TERMS OF WEALTH.

7. THIS ALL MUST BE KEPT IN MIND IN OUR DEALINGS WITH THE OAU. AND, WHILE WE SEEK BETTER RELATIONS WITH AFRICA, AND ARE ENCOURAGED BY THOSE INSTANCES WHERE THERE HAVE BEEN SPLITS WITHIN THE AFRICA RANKS--TO OUR FAVOR--WE TRY TO BE REALISTIC. WERE THE CURRENT PARSIMONY OF THE OIL PRODUCERS TO BE REVERSED--WERE POOR AFRICANS TO BE FAVORED BY MASSIVE AID AND INVESTMENT FROM THEM--OUR CHANCES OF GETTING AFRICANS TO VOTE WITH US WOULD DIMINISH PROPORTIONATELY. THIS IS NOT ONLY OUR VIEW, BUT THAT OF A CONVINCING NUMBER OF AFRICANS AT THE UNITED NATIONS. BY THE WAY, THESE SAME AFRICANS WILL GENERALLY TELL US THAT AN INCREASE IN US. AID TO THEM WOULD NOT ACHIEVE THE SAME RESULTS.

8. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS ALL DIPLOMATIC AFRICAN POSTS.
MOYNIHAN

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS.
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